1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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765 and the bones, which are by this time dried and bleached by the weather, are taken from the platform and distributed to *friends* of the deceased. The best *friend* gets the mandible, the second best receives the clavicle, and the third best one of the arm bones. The oldest son inherits the femurs, which he may fashion into daggers. The remaining bones are buried under the floor of the house in which the deceased has lived. After the bones have been distributed, everyone who attends the funeral[37] joins in a big feast, which is a joyous occasion. Those who have fasted eat the food which they have denied themselves, and those who have worn clay wash. There is a great deal of joking and merriment, and when the meal is finished the men go to the nearest house tamberan, where they beat rhythms on the gongs, play the sacred flutes, dance, and sing. Only those males who have received their keloids are allowed to attend.[38]

885 A Kwoma adult lives in an environment of people who
• 571 may cause him pain to an even greater extent than the natural and supernatural environments. They beat, insult, scold, punish, sorcerize, and even threaten to kill him. He has already had a long apprenticeship in learning to anticipate these pains. By adulthood, a Kwoma has learned to differentiate the various categories of relatives, non-relatives, and foreigners. Toward threats from each of these categories of persons he responds with acts which his culture defines as appropriate. If he does not do so, he may expect pain from another source, from those members of his society who sanction custom.

885 A man's parents and *paternal uncles* and *aunts* still com-
593 mand and punish him as they did when he was a child. Now
602 the punishments take the form of scolding and criticism, as

[37] Everyone in the subtribe is usually invited.

[38] A young man from a neighboring tribe who was not yet scarified was severely beaten and almost killed for entering the house tamberan at such a time. This man had killed his wife with an ada in a fit of rage and had fled from his own tribe to escape the wrath of his wife's relatives, taking refuge with his mother's relatives at Hongwam. The Kwoma all considered him crazy, and indeed he did exhibit some psychotic symptoms. It is probable that these circumstances were in part responsible for the beating he received.

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may [571] eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 [521] A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
179 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil. I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waramus were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse. When Tip and I arrived, there was again a crowd of women in the house and [754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar went to get some banana leaves for Leathernack (an old man noted as a sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leathernack took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to rouse the poison. Leathernack gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat [152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected [571] thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention, except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

857 Fit and Hay have been playing all afternoon. Hay was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 Hay caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside Hay's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for Hay's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. Hay did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 Hay, Afalowanj, Horak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwama were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Peyap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hent suevigs, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them man but use their name. His daughter, Hamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hent suevigs. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

489 Today there was a market with Tamboo. Tawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him. Peyap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.